

THE PHONOLOGY OF BUDAPEST YIDDISH

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. It has been observed that the lack of adequate data about the different tracts and localities of European "Yiddishland" is one of the greatest sources of difficulty of Yiddish dialect research.¹ This diagnosis is particularly justified with respect to the Western dialects of Yiddish. It is apparent from the contributions of F. Guggenheim-Grünberg, F. J. Beranek, P. Garvin, and others that some important problems concerning the history of Yiddish cannot be solved unless more complete information about the surviving Western Yiddish dialects is obtained. Hungary as the most southeastern part of the Central European Yiddish settlement is of no less importance. A glance into the literature shows how neglected this field of Yiddish has been.² P. Garvin has in this volume (pp. 92-115) surveyed the geographical structure of Hungarian Yiddish; I should like to supplement his article by further information about the Yiddish dialect spoken in the capital of Hungary at present. This description is restricted to the living dialect spoken by older people in both parts of the capital, Buda and Pest, in family circles, among friends, and by orthodox persons in religious life.³ Let it be noted that the state of the language as obtained from the informants reflects the usage before and at the turn of our century. Since that time, and particularly since World War I, the original Western Yiddish dialect of Hungary has been greatly influenced by the Central Yiddish of the *üntərləndər* 'lowlanders', coming mostly from Carpathorussia.⁴ In Budapest itself, however, the formation of com-

¹ U. Vaynraykh, [The Phonemic Structure of a Podolian Yiddish Dialect], *Yuda A. Yofe-bukh*, New York, 1958, p. 221.

² Uriel and Beatrice Weinreich, *Yiddish Language and Folklore*, The Hague, 1959, esp. pp. 27ff.

³ The historical phonology of the dialect is to be analyzed in a separate article, to appear in *Acta linguistica* (Budapest).

⁴ In connection with the problem *äubərlənd*-*üntərlənd*, cf. C. J. Hutterer, "Adalékok a felföldizmus kérdéséhez" ('Data on the Question of the Hungarian "Highland"'), *Magyar nyelv* LVII (1961), 213f. See now also U. Weinreich, "Western Traits in Transcarpathian Yiddish," in *For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday*, The Hague, 1964, pp. 245-264.

promises has been subordinated to the very strong assimilation to Hungarian.

1.2. The material of this paper is essentially based on the speech of three persons. Informant I was 80 years old at the time of the recording (1960); the others were about 60 (II) and 55 (III). It is hardly possible to find younger persons speaking the *Western* Yiddish dialect in the capital; even in the case of informants II and III we have to do rather with an *Erinnerungssprache* than with an *Alterssprache*, to employ the felicitous terms of E. Kranzmayer.⁵ All three informants were born and brought up in Budapest; only II spent an extended period in the Soviet Union (mostly in non-Yiddish-speaking areas). His dialect proves the correctness of Kranzmayer's thesis concerning the speech of repatriates (*Rückwanderer*):⁶ he used more archaic forms than his younger brother, III, who during II's absence belonged to the staff of the Burial Society in Budapest and was more exposed to the influence of modern Yiddish usage. Informant I came from a business family and was employed for a long time in the textile trade; he belongs today to the administration of the orthodox section of the Burial Society in Budapest. In World War I he served in the army of the Monarchy in Hungary and also in Serbia, where the language of service was German. He was born in Óbuda (Yiddish, German *Altofen*) and his relations are still confined to the immediate neighborhood of Buda.

Informants II and III were brothers. Their family lived in the hinterland of the Hungarian capital, especially in the Northeastern part of Transdanubia. One of them (II) was an engineer, the other (III) a civil servant.

During the field work I was again convinced of the wrongness of the old theory according to which the most primitive subjects are most suitable for the purposes of linguistic investigation. My informants were well educated both professionally and generally. They have proved that valuable linguistic material is not dependent on primitive subjects.⁷

⁵ E. Kranzmayer, *Historische Lautgeographie des gesamtbairischen Dialektraumes*, Vienna-Cologne, 1956, pp. 4f. and *passim*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷ Cf. C. J. Hutterer, "Randbemerkungen zu E. Kranzmayers *Historischer Lautgeographie des gesamtbairischen Dialektraumes*," *Acta linguistica* (Budapest) IX (1959), 134ff. (hereinafter "Randbemerkungen").—I want here to express my thanks to my informants and to those who helped me in my work in connection with this paper, above all to G. Mellinger, Alexander Román-Eckstein, and Béla Elödi-Eckstein, as well as to Rev. Eugen Schück, Dr. Helene Benoschofsky and to Dr. Clara Magdics, who aided me in working out the English version of this paper and transcribed the music to the supplement (cf. pp. 144f.).

1.3. METHODS OF COLLECTION. The material was collected on the basis of a questionnaire containing about 500 questions. But in the case of Informant I, whose speech was considered as the basic source of the description, the number of questions amounted to several thousand. In constructing the questionnaire I took special care to have it reflect the relevant phenomena of phonemics, on the one hand, and of the distribution of the German, the Hebrew-Aramaic, the Slavic and other components on the other. Topically, the questions covered the most varied spheres of human life and ideas, such as family and kinship, religious life and rites, folkways, states of mind, professions and tools, parts of the body, house, home and courtyard, clothing, nourishment, entertainment, place names, countryside, vegetables, animals, housework, colors, seasons, names of the days and the months, numerical system, etc. All categories of Yiddish grammar were also represented in the questionnaire.

In asking the questions my main interest was in eliciting equivalents to the models assumed in advance. Where no such word was known to the informant, this negative fact was noted, as well as the substitute offered by the speaker. Since the informants are perfect speakers of Hungarian, the questions, as well as the predetermined words, were put in Hungarian to prevent a non-dialectal influence which might have been exerted on the subjects had they been addressed in Yiddish or German.⁸

In order to avoid a collection of single words only, connected speech was registered, too. These records ought to be treated separately, but a recitative text is available in the supplement to the present paper.

1.4. JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN BUDAPEST. The history of Jewish settlement in the present capital of Hungary embraces the development of three Jewish communities—Buda (Ofen), Óbuda (Altofen), and Pest—which were connected not only by the non-Jewish environment and by a common fate, but by their close ethnic affinity as well. The first documentation of the Jewish community in Buda dates back to the 13th century.⁹ Like the oldest Ashkenazic communities in Hungary it may be traced back to immigrating German, French, Italian and other western ethnic groups in the first centuries of the Hungarian kingdom. These medieval Ashkenazic settle-

⁸ Cf. *Mitteldeutsche Studien* 24 (Halle, 1959), p. 59, and C. J. Hutterer, "A Dunántúli Középhegység népműve és a magyarországi német nyelvjáráskutatás problémái" ('The German Colonies in Northern Transdanubia and the Problems of German Dialect Research in Hungary'), *Magyar nyelv* LVI (1960), p. 230; idem (Hutterer) *Nemeckie goryov Central'noj Vengrii*, Moscow, 1958, p. 9.

⁹ Cf. Samuel Kohn, *Héber kúforrások és adatok Magyarország történetéhez* ('Hebrew Sources and Data Concerning the History of Hungary'), Budapest, 1881, p. 33.

ments must be considered as the southeasternmost extensions of the first period of the Ashkenazic eastward movement. The immigrants came mainly from the eastern, especially from the southeastern parts of the Empire, i.e. from Bohemia, Bavaria and, above all, Moravia, and retained their contacts with their native land.¹⁰ The Jewish communities in Óbuda and Pest seem to have been only secondary colonies of the far stronger Jewry of medieval Buda. In the second half of the 15th century Buda became the political center of all Hungarian Jewry.

1.41. After the occupation of Buda by the Turks in 1526 and 1541 the continuity of Jewish life was endangered. Some families fled to western Hungary, chiefly to Pressburg, but the masses of Buda's Jewry remained. The Sultan later commanded all Jews of Central Hungary to be deported to the Ottoman heartland or to the Balkans. The motives of this resettlement were of a purely economic character. The Jewish colonists from Buda remained in the closest connection with their metropolis even in their new Balkan home. In 1538, a good many of them were to be found again in Buda.¹¹

1.42. In the second half of the 16th century Buda once more became the center of Carpathian Jewry. The reconquest of Buda in 1686 by the troops of the Kaiser put the Jewish population in a sensitive position. But despite frightful afflictions, the settlers' vitality enabled them to survive. In the year 1689 the so-called *Wasserstadt* 'watertown'—the Jewish quarter of Buda at that time—was completely restored.

After Charles VI (1711–1740) in 1726 issued a decree which made the stay of the Jews in the Austrian hereditary provinces nearly impossible, the Buda community received a fresh wave of immigration, chiefly from Moravia. A new situation arose in 1746 after the local banishment of the Jews from Buda: the majority of the colonists settled down in neighboring Óbuda. As a result, the importance of the Óbuda community increased greatly. In 1783, under the rule of Joseph II (1780–1790), Buda was reoccupied by the settlers of the increased Óbuda community.

1.43. In Pest, on the eastern bank of the Danube, a new Jewish community arose after the Turkish occupation in 1786. Hand in hand with the economic and political growth of the town the community underwent a large-scale development and soon surpassed the community of Óbuda. At the time of the Hungarian reform period Pest became the breeding

¹⁰ Kohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–48 etc.; G. Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum historia antiquissima*, vol. II, Cluj, 1895, p. 6.

¹¹ Walter Friedensberg, *Nunciaturberichte*, vol. III, part I, Gotha, 1893, pp. 315ff. and 326.

ground of reform ideas. As a consequence of the quick extension of religious "neology" the western Yiddish dialect of the town was more and more repressed and came to be looked upon as a "jargon" which had to be replaced by more "literary" forms. This tendency was not isolated; about the turn of the century the German citizens of Buda and Pest (and to some extent of Óbuda, too) were linguistically magyarized as well.¹²

At its beginnings the Pest community was a rather humble branch of the Jewish group of Óbuda, which was supplemented (especially after 1746) by inhabitants from Buda. In the 19th century the development was reversed: Pest seized the leadership not only over several parts of the capital, but over the whole country. Linguistically, this state of affairs meant—after a brief interlude of German vernacular or colloquial speech—the complete assimilation to Hungarian. The old Yiddish dialect, with a nearly 700-year history in Buda, progressively came to be restricted to the orthodox sector of the community, and even there mainly to the family circle and to sermons in the synagogue.

1.5. LAYOUT AND TRANSCRIPTION. The order usually followed in synchronic phonological descriptions has here been changed in such a way that the phoneme inventory, instead of preceding the detailed analysis of single phonemes and their variants, follows it by way of summary. This method is suitable here because the dialect described exemplifies the manifold penetration and stratification of several dialect levels. The Western Yiddish basis of the Budapest dialect displays a dynamic relation to other, non-Western, types of Yiddish and to non-Yiddish phonemic components. The descriptive part is therefore concluded with a discussion of the features which endow the Budapest dialect with its peculiar character.

The transcription used here is as simple as possible. But with respect to subphonemic variants, which play an unusual role in so confused a dialect, I did not consider it advisable to reduce them automatically to phonemes and diaphones. Both for the sake of clarity and in the light of this dialect's specific relation (at least around the turn of our century) to the surrounding Austro-Bavarian dialects of German as well as to the earlier German Vienna-Budapest (likewise Austro-Bavarian) vernacular, I have used a transcription favored by some European dialectologists in descriptions of

¹² Cf. E. Einhorn in *Der Ungarische Israelit*, 1848; S. Büchler, *A zsidók története Budapesten* ('The History of Budapest Jewry'), Budapest, 1901, esp. pp. 438ff.; also C. J. Hutterer, "Hochsprache und Mundart bei den Deutschen in Ungarn," in H. Grosse and C. J. Hutterer, *Hochsprache und Mundart in Gebieten mit fremdsprachigen Bevölkerungssteilen*, Berlin, 1961, pp. 55ff.

German and Yiddish dialects. I hope that occasional alterations of this scheme will not encumber the appreciation of the present report.¹³

In treating consonants, syllabic sounds are marked by a circle below the letter (e.g. *ŋ*), length by a dot (e.g. *t*, *ts*). The palatalization of a consonant is signified by the accent mark (e.g. *l'*). *φ* represents a bilabial spirant; *w* is, as a rule, labiodental (i.e. more precisely, [v]), but sometimes also bilabial [β]. *x* is in all positions a velar sound and never corresponds to the German *ich*-sound [ç]. *ɣ* is a variant of syllabic *ŋ* formed further back; I am inclined to name it *laryngal*.¹⁴ The semi-lenes and semi-fortes occurring occasionally are represented by the corresponding small capitals in italics (e.g. *B*, *P*).

Among the vowel sounds normal shortness remains unmarked. Overtly short vowels are represented by a semicircle above the letter (e.g. *ă*); length is indicated by a superior bar (e.g. *ā*); nasalization is signified by a tilde (e.g. *ā̃*). Open pronunciation is marked by an inferior hook (e.g. *ę*). *ı* and *ı̃* are strongly rounded, so-called "dark" *a*-sounds, inclining towards *u* and *ă* represent the short and long variants of the very open *e*-sound.

Hebrew-Aramaic prototypes of Yiddish words are transliterated according to the usage of the present series.¹⁵ Phonetically transcribed forms always appear in italics without brackets; phonemic forms are used, when necessary, within slanted lines.

2. THE PHONEMES

1.1. VOWELS

(a) Short Vowels

1.1.1. /a/. The phoneme /a/ can be realized in three ways: (1) as an unrounded back short vowel *a*, which is identical with the short *a*-sound of literary German; (2) as an overshort variant of the former sound: *ă*; and (3) as a rounded back short vowel, *ā* (which has become a separate phoneme in many Southern German dialects as well as in colloquial Hungarian).

The alternation between *a* and *ă* in the dialect depends exclusively on the speed and length of the utterance. The allophone *ă*, rather common in German dialects of the capital, is often preferred, cf. *măx̃n*~*maxn* 'make', *wăšn*~*wašn* 'to wash', *gəwănd*~*gəwand* 'garment, dress',

Concerning the transcription in detail, cf. my "Randbemerkungen," pp. 336ff.

The term 'laryngal' refers only to the back nature of the sound; it is the faecal stage which plays the essential role. Cf. "Randbemerkungen," p. 341.

See *The Field of Yiddish*, vol. I, New York, 1954, pp. vif.

dämpl~*dampf* 'leaven' (cf. German *Dampf*), *härt*~*hart* 'hard', *zäts*~*zal* 'set; stake; sentence', *äxt*~*axt* 'eight', *äpl*~*apl* 'apple', *k'ákatsy*~*k'ákatsy* 'to stutter, to stammer', *träxtñ*~*traxtñ* 'to view', *møräst*~*mørø* 'a muddy place or spot' (cf. German *Morast* 'marsh, slough, morass') only I; II, III: unknown), *zälts*~*zalts* 'salt'.

The rounded variant *å* represents, according to its phonation, a link between /a/ and /o/ and appears particularly before *r*, nasals, and long consonants, cf. *gårb* 'sheaf', *årm* '1. arm; 2. poor', *håmp* 'hemp', *wånd* 'wall', *nås* 'wet', *låsn*~*låsn* 'to let'. Consequently we can as a rule interpret it as a combinatory variant, but not in every case, because (1) in some words it is the only form of the phoneme, cf. *jå* (long form: *jå*) 'yes' (II and III also: *jåi*), *flåks* 'flax', *wåläx* 'Wallach(ian), Rumanian', etc.; (2) it can alternate not only with /a/, but also with /o/, cf. *k'åp*~*k'qp*~*k'q* 'head', *tåp*~*tqp* 'pot', *gåld*~*gold* 'gold'; (3) it can be phonematically opposed to /a/ and /o/, cf. *halts* (II, III; I: *håls*) 'neck' and *hålts* (I)~*holts* (II, III) 'wood', *wårt*~*wåt* 'wait!' and *wårt*~*wort* 'word', and the like.

At the same time, as a result of Austro-Bavarian German influence, it can alternate with *o* as allophones of the same phoneme, cf. *årm* 'arm' beside *ormlox* 'armpit' (cf. German *Armloch*).

Finally we have to note the fact that in the speech of younger people who are no longer active Yiddish speakers, this *å*—under Hungarian influence¹⁶—has become a phoneme, as in the names *šwårts* 'Schwarz', *šärf* 'Scharf', *härtmån* 'Hartmann' compared to *šwårts*, *šärf*, *härtmån* *härtmå* in the speech of active speakers. The same situation is found in words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin: *šåmøs* 'synagogue servant', *gånef* 'thief'. Active speakers say *šåmøs* and *gånef*~*ganøv*. In the speech of young people, this *a* appears only as a stylistic variant.

2.112. /o/. This phoneme possesses two realizations: *o* and *ø*. In his historical description of the Pinsker dialect, Beranek already noted that (like *e* and *u*) represents a short, more or less open sound, which he could, if necessary, also be written more precisely as *ø* (like *e* and *u*). Here, too, speed and length play an important role: at a greater speed the sound becomes shorter and opener, while at a slower speed it is longer and closer, cf. *øfn* 'open', *wølf* 'wolf', *xøgø* 'Christian holiday'.

Short *o* frequently appears as *å*,¹⁸ cf. *gøld*~*gåld* 'gold', *sød*~

¹⁶ Cf. Gy. Laziczius, *Bevezetés a fonológiába* ('Introduction to Phonology'), Budapest 1932, pp. 36f.

¹⁷ F. J. Beranek, *Das Pinsker Jiddisch und seine Stellung im gesamtjiddischen Sprachraum*, Berlin, 1958, pp. 6f.: §3, 1a.

¹⁸ See 2.111 above.

øret', *røš*~*råš* 'head, chief'. Above all in position before /x/ and /r/ the sound tends towards *ø* or *å* as combinatory variants, cf. *døx* 'yet, however, nevertheless', *jøx* (I)~*jøxt* (II, III) 'yoke', *løx* 'hole', *k'øx* 'kitchen', *øxtør* 'daughter', *bøxør* 'young man', *førm* 'form', *dørf* 'village', *ørmølx* 'armpit' (cf. German *Armloch*) beside *årm* 'arm', *zårg* 'care', *šårvø* 'work', *xåxmø*~*xøxmø* 'cleverness, prudence'.

Young people, who are not active speakers of Yiddish, use either *å* or close *o* in the Yiddish remnants of their speech, for the open variant *ø* is strange to their magyarized basis of articulation; thus *råšekøl* 'head of Jewish community', *jåntøv*~(rarely) *jontøv* 'Jewish holiday', *hohmå* 'cleverness, prudence', *wolf* (proper name), as against *røšek'øl*, *xåxmø*~*xøxmø*, *jontøv*~*jontøf*~*jåntøf*~*jåntøv* and *wølf*~*wølv* in the speech of active speakers.

Diphthongal variants may appear before /r/; I found them only in informant I as a result of Austro-Bavarian influence, cf. *føø*~*før* 'before'.

2.113. /e/. This phoneme may be realized like /o/, in two ways: either as close *e* or open *ø*. The prevalent form is doubtless *e*, cf. *lefł* 'spoon, ladle', *øf* 'speech', *bøt* 'bed', *zek* 'sacks, bags', *blethøx* 'leaves (dim.)', *štekp* 'stick; 2. to stick', *nøs* 'miracle'; *ømas* '1. truth; 2. right, correct', *xøwø* 'society, company'. The close form occurs as a short sound most rarely, cf. *k'empl* (I)~*k'ømpl* (III) 'comb (dim.)', *hemøT* (I)~*hemød* (I)~*hempt* (II)~*hemød* (II, III) 'shirt', *hentšøx* 'gloves', *šejkł* 'thigh, shank', *deykø* 'think', *ebøs*~*epøs* (beside *øbøs*) 'something, any, some, somewhat', *øwø* 'away', *tsełt* 'tent', but more frequently as a long vowel, cf. *smøtø*~*smøtø* (III) 'cream', *zémPøt* (I)~*zømPøt* (II) 'mustard' (cf. 2.123).

An overshort variant may occasionally occur, especially before long consonants, cf. *grøsø* 'greater, bigger', *rødø* (II, III)~*rødø* (I) 'to speak'.

In position before /r/ we regularly find the open sound, cf. *herpst* 'autumn', *ørød* (I, II, III)~*ferd* (I) 'horse', *šwørø* 'to swear'. This *ø* often alternates with *å* or *ä*, in the speech of I also with *øø*: *šmørts* (I)~*šmårts* (I, II, III) 'pain, ache' and *šmørtsy* (I) 'to hurt, ache', *färzax* (I)~*färšax* (II)~*øfäršax* (I)~*øfärzax* (II, III) 'peach', *fätiq* (I)~*fätiq* (II, III)~*fätiq* (I) 'ready', furthermore (I) *šwør*~*šwør* 'heavy, difficult' (II, III: *šwør*), *her*~*her* 'lord, master' (II, III: *hør*).

A similar situation is found in position before /x/: *røxt* (I)~*råxt* (II, III) 'right', *šlåxt* 'bad, ill', *zøxtsøg* (II, III)~*zäxtsøg* (II, III)~*zäxtsig* (I)~*zøxtsøg* (II) 'sixty', *brøxø*~*bråxø* 'to break', *døxt*~*dåxt* 'thick, dense'. The alternative variant *ø* is doubtless due to the influence of Austro-Bavarian, cf. *slåxø* (I, II, III)~*šte'xø* (I) 'to prick, sting, pierce'.

In other positions the alternation *ɛ* ~ *ä* occurs only in the word *wɛʃ* (I, II, III) ~ *wäʃ* (I) 'wash, washing, linen, underclothing'.

The so-called *e*-confusion, well known in many German dialects,¹⁹ appears in Budapest Yiddish to such an extent that we may speak in most cases only of facultative or occasional variants. Of course, the *open* form of realization is constantly increasing. The younger generation uses short *e* or long *ē* as exclusive forms according to the rules of literary and colloquial Hungarian: *gelb*, *bérg* (proper names), *plē* 'sheet metal'.²⁰ Active speakers say *gelb* ~ *gēl* 'yellow', *blēx* ~ *blāx* 'sheet metal', *bärg* 'mountain'.

Though quite rarely, *ö* occurs as a consequence of literary German influence in some recent loanwords, cf. *t'öPqə* (I) 'potter'.

Concerning the alternation of *e* and *ə* ~ *v* in unstressed position, see 3.1.

2.114. /ü i u/. The close sounds /ü/ and /i/ are of distinctive value in the dialect; open ü and i are rare and always facultative variants like overshoot *i* and *ü*. As a result of the mix-up of several phonemic levels in Budapest Yiddish, the *i* (of Central Yiddish origin) may stand in many words for western Yiddish /ü/; we can observe the same with respect to literary and dialectal German *u* penetrating into Yiddish. In both types of penetration we have to do with so-called "tip words" (the *Spitzenwörter* of Frings)²¹ coming from German and from Yiddish circles of Eastern and Northeastern Hungary.

/ü/: *püṭər* 'butter', *füks* 'fox', *früm* 'pious, religious', *kruimp* '1. crooked, curved, bent; 2. lame', *fün* 'from', *zün* 'sun', *nüs* 'nut', *rüs* 'Ruth', *püṭər* 'flint', *bündə* 'furs', *sükə* (I) ~ *siükə* (II, III) 'tabernacle'.

ü: *züp* 'soup', *mäṣüge* (I) ~ *mäṣügə* (I) ~ *mäṣüga* (II, III) 'mad, crazy'.

ü may alternate with ü mostly as a facultative variant, but standing in final position long ü occurs as a combinatory variant: *k'ü* 'cow', *rü* 'calm, quiet', *tsü* ~ *tsü* 'to, too', *brüdər* (I) ~ *brüdər* (II, III) 'brother', *bəsülp* (I) ~ *psülp* (I, II, III) 'virgin'.

/i/: *lip* 'lip', *rip* 'rib', *grif* '1. grip, grasp, hold; 2. handle,' *simxə* '1. joy, pleasure, delight; 2. festival, feast', *šikər* (I) ~ *šikər* (II, III) 'drunk'.

i: *gīql* 'top, summit', *flīg* 'fly', *tsəriṣə* (I) ~ *tsəriṣə* (II) 'torn', *štrik* (I, II, III) ~ *striķ* (I) '1. cord, rope, line; 2. good-for-nothing, young rogue', *bris* (I) ~ *bris* (II, III) 'circumcision'. Variations with i: *rīxtig* ~ *rīxtig* 'right, correct', *di* ~ *dī* 'they, the (pl.)', *widər* (II, III) ~ *widər* (I) 'again'.

ü ~ i ~ i: *k'is* (I) ~ *kis* (II, III) ~ *k'üs* (I) 'kiss', *dütsət* (I) ~ *t'ütsət* (I)

¹⁹ E. Kranzmayer, *Historische Lautgeographie* . . ., pp. 25ff.

²⁰ In Hungarian, the same form occurs as a loanword, /plē/.

²¹ This term was used by Frings in connection with the Rhenish dialects, where it is intended to point to the fact that the different phonetic phenomena penetrate certain words in a differential way, depending on their geography.

III) ~ *dütsənd* (III) ~ *ditsət* (I) 'dozen', *k'ügl* (I) ~ *kügl* (II) ~ *kügl* (I) ~ *kigl* (III) 'bullet, ball; a sort of pastry', *üntə* (I, II, III) ~ *intə* (II, III) 'beneath', *üly* (I) ~ *tsiyy* (II, III) 'tongue', *šisə* ~ *šüsə* 'dish', *širtsə* ~ *šürtsə* 'apron' (II, III) unknown), *štük* ~ *štik* 'piece' (I; II and III say only *štik* ~ *štikl*), *brük* (I) ~ *brik* (II, III) 'bridge', *bükə* (I) ~ *p'ükl* (II, III) ~ *bikl* (I) 'hump, back'.

ü is the result of the surrounding German influence, cf. *šutn* 'mare', *šutsy* 'tumbler cup', *šmuk* ~ *šmük* 'jewels', *un(d)* ~ *ün(d)* 'and', *šustər* (I) ~ *ustər* (I, II, III) 'shoemaker'.

In position before /r/ we see the variants ə or e, as the case may be, cf. *ʃərm* (I) ~ *t'ürm* (II, III) 'tower', *šerəm* (I) ~ *širəm* (II, III) 'screen, umbrella, parasol, peak'.

Before /x/ we often find the combinatory variants ün ~ üə, cf. *diüpxənən* to perform the priestly benediction', *züpxən* ~ *züəxən* 'to seek', *tüpx* '1. cloth; 2. kerchief, shawl, necktie', *šüpx* (I) 'shoe' (II, III: *šü*, III also *šl*). An opposite example is the word *früxt* 'corn, grain'.

Younger people in their Yiddish usage know only ü and i (or u, as the case may be) under Hungarian or High German influence, cf. *muykātš* or *mŷkâtš* 'Munkatsch (place name)' (I: *mŷnkâtš*, SE Yiddish *mŷnkatš*), *fuks* (family name), *kügli* ~ *kigli* 'bullet, ball; a sort of pastry', *dühənol* 'he performs the priestly benediction'.

(b) Long Vowels²²

2.115. /ä/. By far the most prevalent form of realization is long unrounded ä, cf. *tswā* 'two', *zäf* 'soap', *läm* 'loam', *wäx* 'soft, tender, weak', *lädən* (III) 'pasture', *šträmł* 'Sabbath hat', *äg* 'eye', *läknən* (I) ~ *lägnən* (II, III) ~ *lāknən* (II, III) 'to deny, disavow', *rām* 'cream', *māt* 'Mád (place name)', *närə* 'girl', *šälə* 'question to the rabbi', *kəsäf* 'script'.

As a result of the confusion of western and eastern Yiddish levels, ä can alternate with ei, ai, or eia, cf. *ejdom* (I) ~ *ejdām* (I) ~ *ādəm* (I, II, III) ~ *ādŋ* (II, III) 'son-in-law', *klej̄d* (I) ~ *klād* (I, II, III) 'clothes, dress', *därhejm* ~ *dāham* 'at home', *wājs* (I) ~ *wāz* (I, II, III) 'I know, he knows', *flāš* (I, II, III) ~ *flaj̄s* (II, III) 'flesh, meat', *šraibm* (I) ~ *šrābm* (I) ~ *šrəibm* (II, III) 'to write', *wej̄b* (I, II, III) ~ *wej̄B* (I) ~ *wāb* (I, II, III) 'wife', *tswāg* ~ *tswēj̄g* 'branch, twig', *ejərə* (I) ~ *ärŋ* (II, III) 'Aaron'.

We find the same phenomenon in the relation of ä to äu and of au to ö. äu(n) in *bām* (I, II, III) ~ *baum* (I) ~ *bäum* (I) 'tree', *gläbñ* (II, III) ~ *glābñ* (I) 'to believe', *rāx* (I, II, III) ~ *rōx* (I) ~ *rāj̄px* (I) 'smoke', *rāxən* (II, III) ~ *raj̄xən* (II, III) ~ *räuxən* (I) 'to smoke'.

²² I do not want to go into the problem of quantity: in general, it is of phonemic character; cf. /bin/ 'am' but /bin/ 'bee'.

A facultative variant of *ā* is *ā*, cf. *lāfñ* (II, III) ~ *lāfñ* (I) 'to run'; but the rounded vowel is fixed in *wālāx* 'Wallach, Rumanian'.

A single case is presented by *gāx* (I) ~ *gīpx* (II, III) 'sudden(ly)', exemplifying the combination of Western and Central Yiddish.

2.122. /ō/. Like the short phoneme /o/, the long /ō/ exhibits two forms of realization: close *ō* and open *ō*. The vacillation we saw in the case of short /o/ seems here to yield *ō* as the usual form in the majority of etymologically clear roots. This is the result of the Austro-Bavarian influence. Thus the close *ō* represents a facultative, in fact an affective variant. Cf. *gōpl* 'soft', *tōg* 'day', *nōdł* 'needle', *ślōgg* 'to beat, strike', *t'ōl* 'valley', *gōdōxās* 'stomach ache', *bōwł* 'Babylon'; furthermore, *nōpl* (I) ~ *nōpl* (II, III) 'navel', *blōzñ* 'blōzñ' 'to blow, sound', *nōmān* ~ *nōmān* 'name', *brōxā* (I) ~ *brōxā* (II, III) 'blessing, benediction', *drōsā* (I) ~ *drōsā* (II, III) 'sermon', *lōšñ* (I) ~ *lōšñ* (II, III) 'language', *k'ōšār* (I) ~ *kōšār* (II, III) 'permitted according to the Law'; also *ōtām* 'breath', *ōgrōzł* 'gooseberry', *mōnōt* 'month', *śōf* 'sheep', *mōlñ* '1. to grind; 2. to paint', *rōf* 'rabbi', *gōlās* 'exile', *nāsōmā* 'soul', *nōsñ* (I) ~ *nōsā* (II, III) 'Nathan', *dōwad* (I) ~ *dōwad* (II, III) 'David'.

Our assertion concerning the role of Austro-Bavarian influence can be confirmed by the fact that the open variant only sporadically occurs in the Hebrew-Aramaic component, cf. the examples above.

In position before /r/, informant I also showed diphthongal forms, cf. *wōr* (I, II, III) ~ *wōpr* (I) 'I/he was', *gōrtñ* (I, II, III) ~ *gōrtñ* (II, III), *gōvrtñ* (I) 'garden', *bōrt* (I, II, III) ~ *bōprt* (I) 'beard', *ōrwašł* (II, III) ~ *ōrwašł* (I) 'ear'.

A fluctuation between *ō* ~ *ō*, *āj*, *āu*, *au* and *ū* is indicated in *ślōfñ* (I) ~ *ślāfñ* (II, III) 'to sleep', *hōs* (I) ~ *hāiz* (II, III) 'hare', *lōz* (II, III) ~ *lāz* (I) 'ticket', *rōvr* (I) ~ *rāir* (II, III) 'reed, tube, pipe', *fōgl* (II, III) ~ *fāugl* (I) 'bird' (but I also *fōgl* 'nest "bird's nest"!') *tauxp* ~ *tōxp* 'to dip, duck', *šōwł* (I) ~ *śōwł* (II, III) 'shovel', *štaub* (I, II, III) ~ *śtōb* (I) ~ *śtōb* (II, III) ~ *śtōb* (III) 'dust', *blau* (I, II, III) ~ *blō* (I) ~ *blō* (I) ~ *blū* (I) 'blue'.

The literary and colloquial Hungarian of the capital knows only the long *ō*, which is used in young people's Yiddish, cf. *bēhōwēd* (< *bəxōwēd* ~ *bəxōwēd*) 'honorable', *hōhēm* (< *xōxām* [I] ~ *xōxām* [II, III]) 'a sage', *blōzol* (< *blōzñ* ~ *blōzñ*) 'he blows (the shophar)'.

2.123. /ē/. The realizations of the long phoneme /ē/ run parallel with those of the short /e/-sound: accordingly we have close *ē* alongside open or very open *ā*. The confusion of the *e*-sounds mentioned above²³ has virtually no trace of the distinction which Budapest Yiddish had in earlier times: the variants are mostly facultative or occasional like those of long

ē.²⁴ The open sound seems to prevail, cf. *ēzł* 'ass', *glēzł* 'glass', *wēgp* 'because of, on account of, for the sake of, for', *mēgg* 'stomachs', *trēn* 'ear' (I: only plural *trēnən*), *dērvx* 'way' (abstr.), *tsēlām* 'cross, crucifix', *ēdār* 'Passover feast'; *k'ēt* ~ *k'ēt* 'chain', *wēgp* ~ *wēgp* 'wagons', *bētñ* (I) ~ *bētñ* (II, III) 'to pray, beg', *frēgp* (I) ~ *frēgp* (I, II, III) 'to ask', *xēdār* (I) ~ *xēdār* (II, III) 'Jewish elementary school', *k'ēwār* (I) ~ *kēwār* (II, III) 'grave', *xēsād* (I) ~ *xēsād* (II, III) 'grace', *pēsax* (I) ~ *pēsax* (II, III) 'Passover', as against *jēgər* 'hunter', *mēgg* 'to be permitted', *vēlñ* 'to choose', *zman zvx* 'to feel ashamed', *ēlānd* 'misery', *ētsā(s)* 'advice', *counsel* (pl.).

Before /r/ I often found the diphthongal variants *ēv* ~ *ēə* ~ *ēə*, rarely also *ā* in the speech of informant I, cf. *rēvr* (I) ~ *rēr* (II, III) 'tube', *lēar* (I) ~ *lēar* (II, III) 'empty', *śwēr* (I) ~ *śwēr* (II, III) 'heavy, difficult', *śwēr* (II, III) ~ *śwēr* (I) 'father-in-law', *śēar* (I) ~ *śēar* (II, III) ~ *śār* (I) 'scissors', *miljōnēr* ~ *miljōnār* 'millionaire'.

The vacillation between *ē/e* and *ai/ei* in *śnē* (II, III) ~ *śnai* (I) 'snow', *ślāj* (I, II, III) 'fleas', *śēn* (I, II, III) ~ *śēn* (II, III) ~ *śējn* (I) 'pretty, beautiful' and *mēlx* (I, II, III) ~ *mēlx* (I) 'king' (also in cards) is due to Central Yiddish influence. On the alternation *ē* ~ *e*, cf. 2.113.

Literary German influence is indicated by sporadic *ā*, cf. *lōwē* (II, III) 'lion' (I: *lēf*, III knows *lēw* in addition to *lōwē*), *trōdlārmarkt* (I) 'rag-fair, old-clothes market'.

Literary and colloquial Hungarian knows only long *ē* (the long open variant occurs only in dialects). It is the sound used by young people, as in *ēlēr*, *pēsāh*, *hēder*.

2.124. /ū i ū ī ū/. Long /ū/ and /i/ are fullfledged phonemes in our dialect; cf. *ilfñ* 'to call', *hūt* 'hat', *fūs* 'foot', *rūbñ* (I) ~ *rūbñ* (II, III) 'beet, carrot, turnip', *p'ūrām* (I) ~ *pūrām* (II, III) 'Purim', *śmūl* (I) ~ *śmūlə* (II, III) 'Samuel', *jārūšā* 'heritage', *būšā* 'shame, disgrace', as against *zibñ* 'seven', *lūp* 'boot', *līg* 'to lie', *jīd* 'Jew', *tīf* 'deep', *k'ī* 'cows', *mī* 'trouble, pains', *śwī* 'green', *tswī* (man's name), *mētsī* ~ *mētsī* 'a 'bargain, occasional purchase', *jpśīwā* 'advanced religious school or rabbinical academy', *śrōm* 'religious laws'.

In position before /r/, informant I also used diphthongal variants: *śnūr* (I, II, III) ~ *śnūr* (I) 'daughter-in-law' (III: also *śnīr*), *kriimpīrñ* (II, III) ~ *kriimpīrñ* (I) 'potatoes', *t'īr* (II, III) ~ *t'īr* (I) '1. door; 2. animal'.

/i/ may induce a diphthongal variation, cf. *bīw* 'book', *līwxt* '1. light; candle', *kriipxp* ~ *kriipxp* 'to creep, crawl', *taxriipxām* 'shrouds', *rīox* 'demon'. More complicated variations are to be seen in *zixər* ~ *zēxər* ~

²³ Cf. f.n. 19.

²⁴ Cf. 2.122.

zăxər ‘sure’ and *năxtərən* (I, II, III) ~ *năxtərən* (I) ‘sober’. It may be observed that /ü/ before /x/ becomes short, cf. 2.114.

The immigration of Central Yiddish speakers, above all from Carpathian Russia, since the last century is responsible for the confusion of the several phonemic levels, cf. *štūb* and *štib* ‘room’, *kūgl* (II) ~ *kīgl* (III) (but *k'ügl* [I], *kūgl* [I]) ‘bullet, ball; a sort of pastry’, *jəšijə* ‘Joshua’. Open /i/ typically Central Yiddish correspondence to etymological *i*, *ü*, *ū*, *ie*.²⁵

Concerning the alternations *ū* ~ *ü* and *i* ~ *i*, cf. 2.114.

Long *ū* is, like short *u*, an imported phenomenon and appears only as facultative variant or in words absolutely strange to the Budapest dialect, cf. *šūl*(*ə*) (I) ‘non-Jewish school’ (but *šūl* ‘synagogue’; II, III do not distinguish the words and say *šūl* in both cases), *lauzbūb* ‘a naughty boy’ (I, II, III) ~ *dāl* ~ *dōl* (II, III) ‘here’, *gōdl* ~ *gūdl* (I) ‘a respected man, expert in the Talmud’ (II, III: unknown).²⁶

In the Yiddish of younger people only *ū* ~ *ü*, *i* ~ *i* and *ū* ~ *u* can be found, as in Hungarian, *l* and the diphthongs *īv*, *īv* do not occur, cf. *pūrīm* ‘purim’, *grūn* (family name), *ješīvā*, *zihēr* ‘sure’, *tāhrīhem*, *kūgli* ~ *kīgl*, *kūgli*, *šūl* ‘synagogue’.

(c) Diphthongs

2.131. /äu aij qij/. The original phonemic distribution of *äu* on the one hand and *āj* ~ *qj* on the other, found to exist in many districts of the Western Yiddish area,²⁷ shows some traces in the Budapest dialect. But they appear to converge in a phoneme /āj/, representing a mean value between the extremes *äu* and *qj*. At the same time, however, we have to note the fact that all these forms are absolutely equivalent renditions of the prototype, cf. *p'äuñ* ‘Poland’, *äuñst* ‘fruit’, *wāuñən* ‘to dwell’, *äuñp* ‘above’, *äuñvñ* (I) ~ *äuñvñ* (I) ~ *äuñfñ* (II, III) ‘oven, stove’ (also the Yiddish name of Buda); *zäul* (II, III) ~ *zājil* (I) ‘sole’, *häuf* (I) ~ *hājif* (II, III) ‘yard’, *polñ* ‘Polish’, *strāj* ‘straw’, *tāj* ‘dead’, *gāj* ‘gentile’, *šājfer* ‘ritual horn’, *šāj* ‘Salomon’, *mājəs* ‘Moses’, *rāj* (I, II, III) ~ *rōj* (II, III) ‘red’, *šājñ* ~ *šājñ* ‘already’, *k'āj* (II, III) ~ *k'qit* (I) ‘dirt, mud’, *brājgəs* (I) ~ *brōqgəs* (II, III) ‘angry’, *mājərə* (II, III) ~ *mojərə* (I) ‘fear, dread, fright’, *jojnasən* ~ *jāñ* ‘Jonathan’, *noit* ‘need’, *štojñ* ‘to push, thrust’, *mənojərə* ‘menorah’. The feature called *umlaut* by German scholars seems to be the source of

²⁵ Cf. U. Weinreich's classification in “A Retrograde Sound Shift in the Guise of Survival,” in *Miscelánea homenaje a André Martinet*, La Laguna, 1958, vol. II, pp. 221–230; also F. J. Beranek, “Jiddisch,” in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß*, ed. W. Stammbach—Bielefeld—Munich, 2nd ed., 1957, coll. 1975ff.

²⁶ The word is considered as typical Eastern Yiddish on Hungarian territory, while other, more indigenous expressions are normally used.

²⁷ Beranek, “Jiddisch,” coll. 1975f.

forms *hājnik* (I) ~ *hēnig* (II, III) ‘honey’ and *läupp* (I) ~ *lēgp* (II, III) ‘lies, truths’. The phonetically neighboring *āj* and *āj* alternate in *grājs* ~ *grājs*, in the usage of subject II and III also *grājs* ~ *grājs* ‘great, big’. As in the alternations *āj* ~ *ō/ō*, *āj* ~ *qj* ~ *ū*, *āu* ~ *ō*, cf. 2.122.

The variations of *āupp* (I, II) with *āgp* (II) ‘eyes’ is probably due to grammatical factors. An instructive case of the free distribution mentioned above is seen in the alternations *zāupp* ‘to suck’, *zqjkt* ‘she sucks’ and *zqjkt* ‘wet-nurse’. The “triphthong” *āip* ~ *ājə* ~ *āj*, resp. *qip* is a combinatory variant in the position before *x* or, rarely, *r*: *hāipx* ‘high’, *rāipx* ‘smell, odor; 2. smoke’, *šājəxpt* (I, II, III) ~ *šājxpt* (II, III) ‘(kosher) butcher’, *k'āipx* (I, II, III) ~ *k'qipx* (I) ‘strength, power’, *ājərvx* ‘a wandering beggar’, *jājərəš* ~ *jojərəš* ‘heir’. But *āj* always appears before *x* in ‘merchant, shopkeeper’.

The magyarized young people lack *āu* and instead of *āj* ~ *qj* they produce *āj* or *oj*, cf. *ezāj* (<*əzāj* ~ *əzqj*) ‘so’, *gāj* ~ *goj* (<*gāj*), *gājtē* ~ *gojtē* ‘gentile woman’, *šājfer* (<*šājfer*), *brājgəs*, *mājre* ~ *mājre* (!). The Yiddish triphthongs are likewise replaced by *āj* in *šājhet*, *ājrāh*, *kājāh* (in expression *škājāh* <*škāipx* ~ *škōipx* ‘thanks, thank you’).

2.132. /ej aij aj/. Among these diphthongs, *ej* is generally regarded as a “border” form, though the speakers often hesitate between *ej* and the *āj* which came with Central Yiddish immigrants into the original Budapest dialect. We have only *ej* in *frējd* ‘joy, gladness, delight’, *bējgl* ‘a pastry in the form of a roll’, *lejt* ‘people’, *hējzər* ‘houses’, *pējts* ‘whip’, ‘deal, part’, *t'ējs* ‘Tisza River’ (cf. German *Theiss*), *frējnd* ‘relative’, *fejgl* ‘birds’, *dējngəs* ~ *dējngəs* ‘cares’ (only I; II, III: unknown).

In final position the diphthong regularly sounds as *āj*, cf. *hāj* ‘hay’, *nāj* ‘now’, *halwāj* (I) ~ *alwāj* (II, III) ‘would that . . .’, *drāj* ‘three’, *āj* ‘egg’, etc. In some cases this variant occurs in medial position as well, cf. *šnāj* ‘it’ (I, II, III: *šnē*); *maizələ* (II, III) ~ *mejzələ* (I) ‘little mouse’, *mājəv* ‘prayer’, *blejbn* (I) ~ *blaibn* (II, III) ‘to remain’, *tsej* (I) ~ *tsajt* (II, III) ‘time’, *šrej* ~ *šrajt* ‘he cries’, *xrājñ* ~ *xrējñ* ‘horse radish’, *šraibn* ~ *trejbn* (II, III) ‘to write’ (I: also *šrābñ*!). A noteworthy alternation is discerned in *zējtsñ* (I) and *zūfətsñ* (II, III) ‘to sigh’.

Total confusion pervades the comparative forms *klēñər* (I) ~ *klēñər* (I, II, III) ~ *klāñər* (II, III) ~ *klējñər* (I) ‘smaller’. On the alternations *ej* ~ *ē/ē*, *ej* ~ *āj* ~ *ā*, see 2.123, 2.133, 2.121.

In position before /r/ and /x/ we find triphthongal variants, *ejə* ~ *ejp* ~

ājə ~ *ājv*, etc.; cf. *t'ējər* 'dear', *fejər* (I) ~ *fājər* (II, III) 'fire', *p'ējorin* ~ *p'ējortē* 'peasant's wife', *hejər* (I) ~ *hājv* (II, III) 'this year', *ājə* (I) ~ *ājv* (II, III) 'eggs', similarly *glejpx* '1. like, alike; 2. soon', *lejxt* (I) ~ *lejv* (II, III) 'easy, light'. A German influence may be proved in *filaext* (I) 'perhaps'; the dialectal word is *efšər*. Alternation with *ājə* is seen in *t'ājə* (I) ~ *tājərə* (I, II, III) 'the Law'. Without being contextually determined the triphthong occurs in other positions, too, e.g. in *lājən* 'to lend' *lājənən* ~ *lājənən* 'to read (the Law)', *xājəs* 'life', *ləwājə* 'burial, funeral'. The Ctl. Yiddish form *pējəs* (I) 'earlocks' also belongs here, although informants II and III do not use a "glide" in this word: *pē·əs*. A similar case is the name 'Aaron', cf. 2.121.

The Yiddish of young people shows the state prevailing in Hungarian, viz. the lack of all these diphthongs and triphthongs: *nājmān* ~ *nējmān* 'Neumann (family name)', *bejgli* (< *beigl*), *frājd* Freud, *rējh* Reich (family names), *tājre* 'the Law', *mājrēv*, *pājēs*.

2.133. /au/. The phoneme at present is rendered as *au*, cf. *auf* 'upon', *erauf* 'up', *faul* 'lazy', *zaubər* 'clean', *haus* 'house', *maus* 'mouse', *maul* 'mouth', *baux* 'belly', *raubən* (I) 'to rob' (II, III) know only *gazlən* ~ *gazlənən*. In the position before (old) /r/ and in some similar cases the triphthongal variant appears, as in *p'āuə* (I) ~ *p'āuər* (II, III) 'peasant', *māuər* 'wall', *zayər* 'sour' and *bauən* 'to build'.—In unstressed syllables it can be reduced to *ā* ~ *a*, cf. *āfštelj* 'to set/put up'.

The number of lexical divergences is very great, i.e. there is hesitation between *au* and other sounds as *ō*, *ō*, *āj*, *āu*, *ā*, *ū*, *ēj*; cf. *štaub* (I, II, III) ~ *štōb* (I) ~ *štāb* (II, III) 'dust', *baum* (I) ~ *bām* (I, II, III) ~ *bām* (II) 'tree', *grau* ~ *grō* 'grey', *blau* (I, II, III) ~ *blō* (I) ~ *blē* (I) ~ *blū* (I) 'blue', *taub* (II, III) ~ *tauB* (I) ~ *tōb* (I) 'pigeon', *tauxp* ~ *tōxp* 'to dip, duck', *šaufl* (I) ~ *šōwl* (II, III) 'shovel', *daumən* (I, II, III) ~ *dūmən* (I) 'thumb', *haut* (I) ~ *heit* (II, III) 'skin, hide'.

It is usually assumed that, from an etymological point of view, *au* alone can here correspond to former *ū* in Western Yiddish.²⁸ But its equivalents in Ctl. Yiddish dialects, on the one hand, and the astonishing parallels with many medieval German "language islands" (*Sprachinseln*) in South-eastern Europe (at least as regards the correspondences *ō* ~ *ō*), on the other, suggest caution about the drawing of premature conclusions.²⁹

²⁸ Cf. Weinreich, "Retrograde Sound Shift," *loc. cit.*; Beranek, "Jiddisch," col. 19.

²⁹ This *au* ~ *ō* variation is a striking phenomenon in the German diaspora dialects of Deutschpilsen (Hung. Nagybörzsöny) in Northern Hungary and in certain Northern Italian dialect islands as well; cf. "Randbemerkungen," pp. 351f. See also E. Kramm, *Historische Lautgeographie* . . ., §§34f., 21b3, 14d3.

It is highly possible that /au/ in our case represents neither an original "diphthongization" nor a "survival" form, but is the result of a retrograde shift (like that to *ū* in eastern Yiddish)³⁰ determined by several—mostly extralinguistic—factors.

As the diphthong is unknown in Hungarian, the substitute form *ā* ~ *u* or *ā* ~ *d* appear in the Yiddish of young people; e.g. *blā·u* Blau, *rāfmān* Kaufmann (family names).

In the Hebrew-Aramaic component of the dialect the diphthong /au/ does not originally occur, but as a result of Western Ashkenazic (German) influence upon the liturgy in the recitation of sacred texts we often hear *au* instead of the dialectal *āj* ~ *ōj*, cf. *bājərə* and *baurə* 'Creator' in benediction formulas. The diphthong *au* is also transcribed in Latin letters in the Hungarian journal of the Community, where we sometimes find both forms on one and the same page; e.g. "raus" = /rauš/ by a reformed rabbi and "rajs" = /rājš~rājš/ 'beginning . . .' (. . . /hašono/ 'of the year') by an orthodox rabbi.³¹

II. CONSONANTS

(a) Semivowels

II.1. /j/. The consonantal phoneme /j/ occurs in this form only in initial position: *jīd* 'Jew', *jōx* (I) ~ *jōxt* (II, III) 'yoke', *jam* 'sea', *jēŋkāf* (I) 'Jacob', *jāši* 'Joshua; Jesus'. The more frequent form is the glide *j* in the position between vowels. With respect to the glide we have to differentiate between front and back vowels: before *a*, *o* the glide becomes an organic part of a so-called triphthong (*ājə*, *ōjv*, etc.), even though in several cases it appears in the full form of the phoneme, cf. *nājəs* (occasionally also *nājəs* 'new(s)'), *nājāin* 'wine'. Before *ū*, *ū*, *i*, *ī* the speaker also can choose *j* or *j̄*: *āj̄sijə* 'Joshua', *t'ūjə* (I) ~ *twūjə* (II, III) or *t'ūjə* ~ *twūjə* 'grain'.

In unstressed initial syllables of some words, /j/ can be dropped, as in *el* (I, II, III) ~ *isrō·el* (I) 'Israel', *jitshqk* (II, III) ~ *itshok* (I) ~ *itshox* (II) ~ *itsig* (I) ~ *itsəg* (II, III) 'Isaac', *jāx* ~ *px* (unstressed variants to the full form *px*) 'P'.

In position after consonants and before vowels we often hear *j*, but the semivowel is also absolutely normal: *berjə* 'an excellent/very strong man', *mirjam* (I) ~ *marjəm* (II, III) ~ *marjəm* (II, III) 'Miriam'.

The Yiddish survivals in the speech of young people have the single form *j*, cf. *jājin*, *mirjām*, *jām*; in unstressed positions, *i*: *izrā·el* ~ *izrō·el*, *lāt*.

²⁸ Cf. Weinreich, "Retrograde Sound Shift," *loc. cit.*

²⁹ *Uj élet* XVI (1960), no. 18 (September 15, 1960), p. 1.

2.212. /w/. The phoneme /w/ is regularly rendered as a labiodental sound (cf. *nədəwən* 'alms', *dəwəqɪrə* 'Deborah', *dōwəd* (I)~*dōwəd* (II, III) 'David'), but the bilabial equivalent can be observed as well, not only in clusters, as in *šwarts* 'black', *tsway* 'tongs', *kwitl* 'note', *üngwā* 'Ungvár (place name), *lēwən* 'lions', but in other positions, too; cf. *ēvələ* (I)~*ēvələ* (II) and *ēwərl* (II, III) 'oven/stove (dim.)'. The sound *w* may alternate with voiced bilabial *b* as in the medieval German colonies in Central Slovakia.³² Informant I, for example, said *beltkrieg* 'world war' etc., without perceiving the difference in his own pronunciation. In German dialects the alternation *w*~*b* is a very old one and *b* is even today characteristic of especially archaic diaspora dialects in the eastern and southeastern areas of contiguous German territory.³³

A semivowel *ɥ* occurs as a second element of triphthongs, cf. *p'ayər* (I, III)~*p'ayə* (I) 'peasant', *mayər* 'wall', *zayər* 'sour', *bayən* 'to build', but correlation like the one between *j* and *ɥ* cannot be observed here.

Under literary German influence we find the form *wir* besides the dialectal form *mīr* 'we'. *wir* is, of course, a variant brought about by "refinement" of speech.

When final, /w/ appears as *v* or—even more often—as *f*, cf. *lēf* (I) 'lion' (but III: *lēw*; and *lēwən* regularly in the plural), *jontəv*~*jontəf*~*jāntəv* 'a Jewish holiday' (besides *jontəwəsən* 'feast'), *jeŋkəf* 'Jacob' (besides *jeŋkəv* dim.), *ganəf*~*ganəv* 'thief' (and *ganənən* 'to steal'). Sometimes before nasals and liquids we see the same alternation in medial position: *kətsōwən* (I)~*kətsōfən* (I)~*kətsōfən* (II) 'butchers', *šauf* (I)~*šauf* (II, III) 'shovel'.

The Yiddish of young people shows, like Hungarian, only labiodental *lēvājē* 'burial', *dōvēd* 'David', *hālēvāj* 'would that . . .' etc. In final position the fluctuation between *v* and *f* is also present: *gānəf*, but *jāntəv*~*jāntəf* and the like.

(b) Liquids

2.221. /l/. The phoneme /l/ resembles common German /l/. It is darker than Hungarian /l/ but not so dark as the so-called Slavic (Polish)

³² J. Hanika, *Ostmitteldeutsch-bairische Volkstumsmischung im westkarpathischen Bergaugebiet*, Münster/W., 1933, p. 81; idem, *Siedlungsgeschichte und Lautgeographie des deutschen Haulandes in der Mittelslowakei*, Munich, 1952, §40 (pp. 96f.).

³³ Cf. "Randbemerkungen," pp. 357f.; H. Protze, "Zum bairischen und ostfränkischen Anteil am Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen," in *Jahrbuch für Fränkische Landesforschung* XX (=Festschrift E. Schwarz I), Kallmünz-Opf., 1960, pp. 338ff.; E. Schwarz, "Probleme alter Sprachinselmundarten," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* LVIII (1934), pp. 353ff.; idem, *Die deutschen Mundarten*, Göttingen, pp. 100ff.; idem, *Die Herkunft der Siebenbürger und Zipser Sachsen*, Munich, p. 191.

Russian, Ukrainian) /l/.³⁴ This quality occurs in all positions, cf. *lēpxt* 'light, candle', *lālpə* (I, II, III)~*lālox* (I) 'sheet', *ləwōnə* 'moon', *blüm* 'flower', *plāpərə* 'to babble', *qlqə* 'plug, peg', *šlāxt* 'bad, ill', *glik* 'luck', *laubn* 'to pick', *wald* 'wood, forest', *wəlkə* 'cloud(s)', *fāl̩* 'to fall', *ñl̩tər* (only I) 'washtub', *folgp* 'to follow', *gēl̩z̩n* 'gnat', *zēlxp* 'to smoke (meat)', *k'el̩r* 'cellar', *t'q̩l* 'valley', *twil̩* 'prayer', *šmūl* (I)~*šmūlə* (II, III) 'Samuel'.

When intervocalic or final, this /l/ is sometimes longish and cacuminal,³⁵ cf. *hēl̩ə* 'Heller' (=cent), *t'ēl̩p* 'plate', *äl̩ə*~*äl̩ə* 'all', *gēzēl* 'journeyman', *ñl̩* 'still, quiet', *šēl̩* '1. bell; 2. diamonds (in cards)'.

As a positional variant after dorsals it can also appear as palatalized /l̩/, *gl̩ōz* (besides *glōs*) 'glass', *gl̩ōbñ* (bes. *glaubñ*) 'believe', *k'l̩ā* (~*klā*) 'small, little'. If /l/ stands in a syllabic position after consonants, *l* regularly has a sharp onset (it is "stosstonig"); sometimes, after dorsals, we find /l̩/: *farl̩mp̩l* 'mouldy', *mazl* 'luck', *gōd̩l̩*~*gūd̩l̩* (only I) 'a respected man, an expert in the Talmud', *bōwl* 'Babylon', *sepxl* 'brains, mind', *himl* 'heaven, sky', *štejndl̩* (I)~*štānl̩* (II, III) 'gravel'; as against *zau-īgl̩* 'hedgehog', *gēl̩* 'organ', but *gəšauklt* 'swung'.

The rudiments contain only *l*, absolutely corresponding with the Hungarian equivalent, cf. *wolf* Wolf (family name), *šūl* 'synagogue', *lēl̩*, *lēvōnē*. Yiddish *l* appears here either as *-el̩* or as *-li*,³⁶ e.g. *māzel̩* (in *māzeltof*)~*māzli* 'luck', *siderli* 'prayer book' (<*siderl*>), *bōvli* 'inferior goods'.

2.222. /r/. The phoneme is in all positions a rolled apical *r*, but in the *parole* of some speakers uvular *R* may also appear,³⁷ cf. *rūfñ* 'to call', *br̩it* 'broad', *pr̩im* 'awl', *pr̩iſiŋ* 'test', *fr̩i* 'early', *tr̩āig* 'trough', *štr̩ümp̩* 'stocking', *gr̩ibñ* 'greaves', *kriŋ* 'war', *nāriš* 'mad, foolish, odd', *bārg* 'mountain', *štārk* (I)~*štārk* (II, III) 'strong'.

A positional variant is an imperfectly pronounced ' which can vanish

³² F. J. Beranek, *Die jiddische Mundart Nordostungarns*, Brünn-Leipsc, 1941, §2.

³³ I have called these "long" consonants cacuminal because, in contrast to the true unvoiced consonants of the neighboring languages, they are not true "consonantal diphthongs," but are distinguished by pressure and a retroflexion of the tongue. Cf. "Randbemerkungen," p. 343.

³⁴ Cf. C. J. Hutterer, "Zur Frage der jiddischen Lehnwörter im Madjarischen," *Mitteilungen aus dem Arbeitskreis für Jiddistik* II (1960), pp. 24ff.; idem, "Tréfi~tréfli~ñfli," *Magyar nyelv* LVII (1961), 84ff.

³⁵ The use of the uvular *R* was generally considered as a characteristic of the speech of the Hungarian aristocracy and the Jewish upper middle classes. It is to be noted that in contrast to the general lingual *r* in Yiddish, in the old Russian Empire, too, the use of uvular *R* was called *kyasivyj b'eloyuskij aksent* by one of the most important settlements of old Russian Jewry.

completely. But in this case the following consonant becomes long, cf. *k'āšn* 'cherry', *vāštləx* (I, II, III) ~ *vāštləx* (II, III) 'frankfurter', *fātsə* (I, II, III) ~ *fātsəg* (III) 'forty', *wərtsl* (I) ~ *wərtsl* (II, III) ~ *wātsl* (II, III) 'root', *špārp* (I) ~ *špān* (II, III) 'to shut, block'.

We find the same in the Hebrew-Aramaic component of our dialect: *rūs* 'Ruth', *brīs* (I) ~ *bris* (II, III) 'circumcision', *prūtə* 'penny' (as a part of idiomatic expressions), *drōšə* (I) ~ *drōšə* (II, III) 'sermon', *srōrə* 'lord, chief, boss', *xewrə* 'company', *awrōm* 'Abraham', *xərbən* 'destruction'. An alternation *r~r'* is conditioned by a strong velarized *x* before it in *x'üpə* (I) ~ *xriüpə* (I) ~ *x'üpə* (II, III) 'canopy'.

Noteworthy is the alternation of *l~r* in *šēkəl* ~ *šēkəl* and *šēkər* 'lie' by informant I.

Young people always produce lingual *r*, as in Hungarian; cf. *trēfli*, *hēvrā*, *štārk* Stark (family name), but never in *hüpe* ~ *x'üpə*; *rōb* 'rabi', *rōt* Roth (family name).

(c) Nasals

2.231. /m/. The phoneme is bilabial *m*, cf. *mōtig* 'Monday', *mist* 'dirt', *magnd* 'preacher', *šmōl* 'narrow, small', *šmadn* 'to baptize', *zūmər* 'summer', *eməs* '1. truth; 2. right, correct', *pōnəm* 'face', *zēməl* 'roll', *xāxmə* ~ *xəxmə* 'cleverness, prudence', *ōtəm* 'breath'. In intervocalic and final position there also occurs so-called long, cacuminal *m̥*; cf. *gənūnən* 'taken', *in̥* 'ever', *k'ümnən* 'to come', *dūm* 'silly, fool', *rām* 'Rome', *tūmə* 'church'.

Labiodental *m̥* and a dorso-bilabial nasal are only positional variants and need not be transcribed. /m/ is labiodental in the position before labiodental spirants (*imən* 'to vaccinate', *šimən* 'to cuss', *štümə* 'stockings', *hējmē* 'home-sickness') and dorso-bilabial before *g* (*ümgən* 'going-round, circuit').

Lexically, /m/ alternates with /n/ in *ādəm* (I, II, III) ~ *ādŋ* (II, III) (besides I: *ejdam* ~ *ejdām*) 'son-in-law'.

The rudiments do not differ from the old forms: *mēlāmēd* (< *məlaməd*) 'Jewish teacher', *emēs*, *pōnəm*.

2.232. /n/. The phoneme is usually rendered as a dental, cf. *nōdł* 'needle', *knexł* 'ankle', *šnel* 'quick(ly)', *mōnvt* 'month', *brēnən* 'to burn', *hund* 'dog', *wintə* 'winter', *gānts* '1. quite, whole; 2. goose', *mēntš* ~ *mēnš* 'man, human being'.

In intervocalic and final position "long," cacuminal *n* occurs too, but is rather rare: *špił(ə)* 'spider', *waŋ* 'when', *dūnər* 'thunder', *gəwūnən* 'won'.

Likewise we find a dorsal *ŋ* before /g, k/ (*tsiməriŋk* (I) 'cinnamon', *fiŋgə* 'finger', *šliŋgl* 'rascal', *üŋgwā* 'Užhorod' (Hung. Ungvár), *müŋkət*

'Munkatsch' (Hung. Munkács, Ukr. Mukačevo), *üŋgərən* 'Hungary', *füŋk* 'spark') and a "laryngal" *p* after *k, g, ŋ* (*bɔrgp* 'to borrow', *līgp* 'to lie', *trōgp* 'to carry', *frēgp* ~ *frēgp* 'to ask', *lūgp* 'to tell lies', *mēlkp* 'to milk', *fmēkp* 'to smell', *bdēkp* 'a bridal ceremony' (cf. German *Bedecken*), *gogdyp* ~ *gəgəyən* 'gone', *fəlāy'p* 'to demand'.

The final voiced dorsal stop is quite absorbed, unlike Central Yiddish: *tsil* (I) ~ *tsiy* (II, III) 'tongue', *tsay* 'tongs', *lay* 'long', *tsway* 'force'. *n* is absorbed in *dīstig* (I; but II, III: *dīnstəg*) 'Tuesday', *mōtig* 'Monday', *fūstən* '15', *fūftig* '50', *fūftē* 'fifth' (all I).

Young people pronounce *n* as in Hungarian, cf. *vintərnits* Winternitz (family name), *nōtə* ~ *nōsən* 'Nathan'.

(d) Labials

2.241. /b/. This phoneme is a voiced bilabial plosive consonant in all positions, cf. *brūk*, *boksp* (I) ~ *bokṣər* (II, III) 'carob' (cf. German *Bockshorn*), *bēlən* 'to bark', *baln* 'ball', *blī·ən* 'to blossom', *hēbām* 'midwife', *raubər* 'clean', *štibl* 'little room', *zib* 'sieve', *tswēbən* 'raisins', *brōxə* (I) ~ *brōxa* (II, III) 'blessing, benediction', *balbōs* 'master of the house, householder', *šabes* 'Sabbath'.

In intervocalic position a long *b* occasionally occurs: *glibərən* 'to curdle, congeal', *ābə* (I) ~ *ābə* (I) ~ *ābə* (II, III) 'but', *bābə* (I) ~ *babə* (II, III) 'grandmother', *ksübə* 'marriage contract'.

When final (as in the Bavarian dialects in Hungary) /b/ occurs as a half-lenis, especially in the speech of informant I, surely as a consequence of the surrounding diaspora German (Bavarian) and Viennese (i.e. East Bavarian) vernacular influence,³⁸ cf. *tauB* (I) ~ *taub* (II, III) ~ *tōb* (I) 'deaf', *wēB* (I) ~ *wāb* (I, II, III) 'wife', *līB* 'dear', *geB* (I) 'give', *grāB* (I) ~ *grōb* (I, II, III) '1. coarse, rough; 2. unpolished, rude'.

Likewise we find an unvoiced *p* before unvoiced consonants: *ziptə* 'seventh', *lept* 'he lives', *gehāpt* 'had', *grōpst* 'you dig', *lāpk* 'ēs' loaf cheese'.

The vacillation between *b* and *p* in final position resembles the alternation *b~B*, cf. *k'ālb* (I, II, III) ~ *k'ālp* (I) 'calf', *farb* (I) ~ *fārb* (II, III) ~ *farp* (I) 'color'. This alternation of *b* and *p~p'* can be observed in other positions too, but for different, lexical historical reasons: *bükł* (I) ~ *bikł* (I) ~ *p'ükł* (II, III) 'hump, back', *bäudən* (II, III) ~ *päudən* (I) 'garret, loft'. *bill* ~ *pilt* ~ *pilD* 'picture', *bəsiñ* ~ *pəsiñ* 'soiled with feces', *ebəs* ~ *epəs* ~ *ebəs* (I) ~ *epəs* (I, II, III) 'something', *nəbł* (I) ~ *nēbł* (I, II, III) ~ *nēpl* (I) 'fog'.

As to the variations *b~w*, cf. **2.212**. This is seen also in *ōbṇd* (I) ~ *ōwənt* (II, III) ~ *ōwənt* (II, III) 'evening'.

³⁸ Cf. "Randbemerkungen," pp. 339f.

In the Yiddish of young people *b* stands in all cases: *rəbə* 'rabbi', *səbəzdiñ* 'Jewish law-court' (<*bəzdiñ*), *bōHər* 'young man', but *p* in *qəpə* 'something' (a rare word, in any case).

2.242. /p/. This unvoiced fortis phoneme is observed in all positions: *pəst*~*pəst* 'Pest', *pāp*, 'pap, paste', *pārmət* (only I) 'parchment (only of the Law)', *plats* 'place', *polāk* 'Pole', *špēndəl* 'splinter', *dāmpl*~*dampł* 'leaven (cf. German *Dampf*)', *tsepl*~*tsepelə* 'plait of hair, pigtail (dim.)', *apl* 'apple', *knāp*~*knop* 'button', *züp* 'soup', *trəpny* 'drop'.

Initially before vowels aspirated *p'* is also very frequent; cf. *p'isn* 'to piss', *p'ūškə* 'flint', *p'araplē* 'umbrella, parasol', *p'auə* (I)~*p'auər* (II, III) 'peasant', *p'ejərin*~*p'ejərte* 'peasant's wife', *p'ütər* 'butter', *p'ęzr* (II) 'pearl', *p'üpə* 'doll', *p'ęlts* 'fur, pelt', *p'ōrəts*~*pōrəts* 'nobleman, aristocrat', *p'aṭərə* 'to get rid of', *p'ūrəm* 'Purim', *p'ēnəmə* 'faces'.—It is hard to formulate a rule about the alternation *p*~*p'* in initial position before vowels, for they can always alternate with one another. We can perhaps define *p'* as an emphatic-positional variant of /p/, since it can be heard above all in emphatic speech.

In intervocalic position (and before syllabic consonants) a "long," i.e. cacuminal variant *p* also occurs: *tipl* 'little pot', *k'ępələ* 'little head', *p'upa* 'doll', *xapn* 'to seize, catch', *vipər* 'viper'.

About the alternation *p*~*b*, cf. 2.241.

Young people utter *p* throughout, as in Hungarian: *pārāplē*, *pōrəts*, *pāṭərol*~*pāṭərol* 'gets rid of', *pōnəm*, *kāpələ*, *pōliši* (<*pāliš*) 'a Polish (Carpatorussian) Jew'.

2.243. /φ Pφ/. The bilabial fricative is the usual rendition of this phoneme: *štrümpf* 'stocking', *gīpl* 'summit, top', *imφn* 'to vaccinate', *šimφən* 'to abuse, insult, rail', *hāmpf* 'hemp', *φēndələ* 'a little pan', *φlek* 'plug, pop'. The variant *Pφ*, a partial adjustment to the *pf* of literary German and the surrounding colonial German dialects, seems to be used permanently above all, in medial and final position, cf. *rēmPφTł* (II, III: unknown) 'a big slice of bread', *ɛPφlbeimlx* 'apple-trees (dim.)', *tsqPφ* besides *tsop* *tsqPφ*~*tsāp* 'plait of hair, pigtail', *tsePφ*~*tsep* (plural), *k'upPφv* (I) 'copper', *k'arPφn* (I)~*karpm* (III) 'carp'.

When initial it often alternates with simple labiodental /f/: *fān*~*φān*, *Pφān* 'pan', *φrīm*~*frīm* 'awl, bodkin', *φerd*~*ferd* 'horse', *φeifn* (I)~*feifn* (II, III) 'to whistle', *φēfəv* (I)~*fēfəv* (I)~*φefər* (II, III) 'pepper'.

The synchronic confusion of these sounds is typified by the fact that it even affects words which historically had /f/, cf. *φlekig* 'spotted, stained', *φenstə*~*fēntr* (I) 'window', *finəf* (I)~*fūnφ* (II, III) 'five'.

In the Yiddish of young people this *φ* does not occur, or it stands

occasionally as a positional variant after such labial sounds as *m*, cf. *qmpl*~*šimpol* 'he cusses'.

2.244. /f/. /f/ may also appear as a phoneme in all positions: *fūs* 'foot, leg', *fūk* 'fox', *flāks* 'flax', *frātīg* 'Friday', *frizer* 'hairdresser', *k'āfṣn* 'caftan', *fūspoon*, *k'rāft* 'power', *šōf* 'sheep', *tīf* 'deep', *šārf* 'sharp', *dōrf* 'village'.

As a positional or occasional variant, "long," cacuminal *f* occurs in medial and final position: *qfñ* 'open', *gālqñ* 'run (pp.)', *šif* 'ship', *k'ifə* 'trunk, box', *būfł* 'buffalo'.

As to the vacillation *f*~*φ*, see 2.243.

Positionally conditioned *v*, *w* can appear instead of /f/: *wəlv* besides *ɛlf* 'wolf', *wolvel* Wolf (a pet name), *elvəv*~*elf* 'eleven'.

Rudiments have only *f*, cf. *s(ə)fārd* (<*svārD*) 'Spanish Jew', *wolf* Wolf (family name).

(e) *Dentals*

2.245. /d/. The phoneme is rendered as voiced *d*: *dūykl* 'dark', *dawənən* 'dawn', *prny*, *doktər* 'doctor, physician', *deykp* 'to think', *dōrṣt* 'thirst', *jidiš* (II, III) 'Jewish, Yiddish', *šindl* 'shingle', *mōdə* 'fashion, mode', *or* 'or', *jid* 'Jew', *geld* 'money'.

When medial between vowels it can also become a "long" *d*, cf. *awāḍə* 'mainly', while in final position it appears sometimes as an unvoiced *ḍ*: *awāḍə*~*fēḍ* (I)~*fēld* (I, II, III) 'field', *ɛḍ* 'earth', *wilD*~*wild* 'wild', *ɛḍp* (I) 'evening', *svārD* 'Spanish Jew', *rōḍ* 'wheel'.

An alternation may be observed in the case of *d*~*t*~*T*: *k'alt*~*k'ald* 'cold', *arbəd*~*arbəd*~*ärbət*~*ärbeit* (I)~*arbət* (II, III) 'work, labor', *hempT* (I)~*hempd* (I)~*hempt* (II)~*hemvd* (II, III) 'shirt', *mīt*~*mīd* 'milk', *k'ind* (I)~*k'ind* (I, II, III)~*kind* (II, III) 'child'.

Vulgarized *dj* has been recorded only in one Hungarian place name: *ɛjgələx-māt* 'Hegyalja-Mád: Hegyalja (Tokay county)'.

Members of the younger generation do not know the variants *D* and *T*: the long *d* in *jidiš* is a spelling pronunciation of an international loan-form (cf. German *jiddisch*, English *Yiddish*) in their speech.

2.246. /t/. This sound displays variants analogous to those described for /d/.

When initial before vowels we find here also *t* and emphatic *t'* side by side: *təxtər* 'daughter', *tīpx* '1. cloth; 2. kerchief, shawl, necktie', *tants* 'tance', *tīr* (I)~*t'iər* (I) '1. door; 2. animal', *top*~*tāp* 'pot' and *t'epələ* 'little pot', *t'ejər* 'dear', *tānə*~*t'ānə* 'Danube', *t'ejis* 'Tisza' (river name), *tājər* 'prayer shawl', *tājərə* (I, II, III)~*t'ajərə* (I) 'Thora'.—Emphatic *t'* is dominant only in the speech of informant I.

In other positions *t* alone is the rendition of this phoneme, cf. *tręjbn*

'to chase, drive', *šūltə* 'shoulder', *knōtŋ* 'knot', *gerštl* 'barley', *brēt* 'board', *welt* 'world', *gūt* 'good'.

In intervocalic position "long" (cacuminal) *t* can also be observed *p'ūtər* 'butter', *wātŋ* 'to wait', *bleṭər* 'leaves', *muṭə* 'mother', *mūṭə* 'mother', *oṭər* (I, rare) 'adder'.

As to the vacillation between *t* and the *d*-sounds, see 2.251.

2.253. /s z/. In consequence of the fusion of Hebrew-Aramaic and Germanic components of the vocabulary, both sounds are, contrary to the case of German dialects, fullfledged phonemes.

Initially /s/ occurs in words of Hebrew-Aramaic or other non-Germanic origin: *siikə* 'tabernacle', (*ə*)*sāx* 'many, much', *sqd*~*sād* 'secret', *sider* 'prayer-book', *smētŋ* (I)~*smētə* (II, III) 'cream'; /z/ is found in words of German origin, but also in Hebrew-Aramaic words where historically determined: *zīs* 'sweet', *zün* 'sun', *zāl* (I)~*zäul* (II, III) 'sole', *zū* (I, II) *zi(n)* (II, III) 'son', *zōnəf* 'penis'.

In medial position the distribution is different. In words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin the historical *s/z* opposition is preserved (*xazə(r)* 'pig', *xəzək* 'loss', *pēsax* 'Passover', *xəspəd* 'funeral oration', *māsə* 'story') whereas in words of Germanic descent one finds the distribution of the positional variants typical of Bavarian German: *s* in unvoiced, *z* in voiced environments (*fest* 'firm, solid', *bist* '(you) are', *mərāst*~*māstə* 'muddy place', *rēstŋ* 'to roast', *ast* 'branch, bough', as against *ēz̥l* 'av', *bēzŋ* 'broom, besom', *ōgrōz̥l* 'gooseberry', *būzŋ* 'bosom', *lēzŋ* 'to read').

A "long," cacuminal *s* occurs in certain positions, especially between vowels and in final position: *mesiŋ* (I) 'brass', *nišam* 'miracles', *nišam* 'nut', etc.

Sporadically we hear the alternation *s*~*z* in words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin too: *tswīsa*~*twīsa* besides *tswīzə* 'prison, jail', *xōzŋ* (I)~*xōsn* (II, III) 'bridegroom'.

Young people pronounce *s* and *z* as in Hungarian: *pēsāh* 'Passover', *hāzér* 'pig'.

2.254. /š ts tš/ are independent phonemes. Their variants may be lengthened in intervocalic or final position: *š* in *p'išŋ* 'to piss', *ts* in *raṭs* 'rat' or *hāṭs* 'heart'; for *tš* I have no instances recorded.

Variations exist also in position after /n/: *iunz*~*ünts*~*üns* 'us'.

The Yiddish of younger people likewise contains all three phonemes, (I) *tsōrəs* (<*tsōrəs*) 'trouble', *tswī* 'Zwi', *tsitsəs* (<*tsitsəs*) 'ritual fringe', *šikṣə* (<*šikṣə*) 'non-Jewish girl', *kōšer* (<*k'ōšer*) 'kosher', *bēntšol* (<*ben tšn*) 'he blesses'.

(f) *Dorsals and Laryngals*

2.261. /g/. The phoneme appears in all positions of the word: *gās* 'goat', *gpl* 'fork', *glēz̥l* 'glass, cup', *grin* 'green', *laugŋ* 'lye, buck', *tsāgg̥* 'to show', *għl* 'brick, tile', *āg* 'eye', *zārg* 'care', *galpx* 'priest', *xqəsə* 'Christian', *għid* 'day'.

The occasional variant *k* occurs as in *lāgnən*~*lāknən*~*lākənən* 'to buy', *pogātšn*~*pokātšn* 'small unsweetened cakes', or as a "long" (cacuminal) *g* as in *məšūg̥e*~*məšūg̥a*~*məšūg̥a* 'crazy'.

In the rudiments we find a voiced *g* in all positions, as in Hungarian: *għilg̥e*, *għemōrə* (<*għemōrə*) 'Gemara: advanced section of study'.

2.262. /k/. The situation here is similar to that of /p/ and /t/. The phoneme is rendered only by informant I as an aspirated *k'* in initial position: *k'v* 'kitchen', *k'ērə* '1. to brush, sweep; 2. to turn', *k'ū* 'cow', *k'orts* 'hort', *k'astn* 'chest'. In the initial cluster *kr-* it also appeared in this informant's speech mostly as an aspirated *k'*: *k'rēpləx* 'little fritters', *k'rotsg̥* 'itchy', *k'rop*~*k'rāp* 'crop, maw, goitre' besides *krümp* 'crooked, curved, bent; lame', *kręg̥k* 'illness', etc.

Otherwise the unaspirated variant prevails in all positions: *għtrikp̥t* 'dry', *għażik* 'said', *ħtikl* 'bit', *lēkp̥* 'to lick', *kwitl* '1. card; 2. note for the bill', *klaus* 'cell, hermitage', *knōtŋ* 'knot', *zak* 'sack, bag', *t'irk* 'Turk', *ek* 'corner'. When intervocalic or final it also appears as a long, cacuminal *k*: *ħkara* 'to plow', *qlekg̥* 'spotted, stained', *bāk* 'cheek', *tsükə* 'sugar'.

The words *għbäks* and *għbäxs* 'baker's ware, pastry, cake' present an interesting pair of lexical variants.

Words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin do not differ from the general rule: *ħawd* 'honor', *k'ēləf* 'dog, cur', *k'ala* 'bride', *kəbōlə*~*k'əbōlə* '1. Kabbala; 2. receipt', *kəsāf* 'script', *šikər* 'drunk', *sūkə* 'tabernacle'.

The rudiments, like Hungarian, know only unaspirated *k*: *kōvəd*, *kālə*, *kāgr*~*šikər*.

2.263. /h x/. The relation between these phonemes is similar to that between /z/ and /s/ (cf. 2.253). Unvoiced *h* stands only in initial position (to some extent in syllable-initials, too): *ħūt* 'hat', *ħuŋgər* 'hunger', *ħōs* 'hate', *ħitər* 'keeper, guardian, herdsman', *ħēʃn* '(cooking) pot', *ħargħan* 'to kill', *ħaħēmə* 'horned cattle: ox, cow'.

/x/ originally stood only in medial or final position in words of Germanic origin as in *färxt* 'fear, dread, fright', *għaļxtər* 'laughter', *šūpx* (I) 'shoe', *ħajx* 'high', *dōrx* 'thorough', but in words of the Hebrew-Aramaic and other (e.g. Slavic) components it occurs initially as well, cf. *xālə* 'dough of Sabbath bread', *xēdər* 'Jewish elementary school', *xəspəd* 'funeral oration', *xəmp̥* 'to seize, catch', *xrejñ*~*xrajñ* 'horse radish'.

This /x/ is a dorsal sound, the so-called *ach*-Laut of the German grammarians, e.g. in *lixt*, *züpxp*~*züexp*, *rəxt*, *gəzixt*, *knəxt*.

The rudiments, like Hungarian, show only *h*, or else voiced *H* in inter-vocalic position, cf. *hēder*, *həspēd*, *hālē*, *dūHēnol* (<*dūvəxənən*) 'he performs the priestly benediction'.

3. INVENTORY OF PHONEMES; NEUTRALIZATION

3.1. The following vowel and consonant phonemes may be selected from the great number of variants:

Vowels

<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>āi</i> (äu)	<i>ei</i> au
<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i>
<i>i</i>		<i>ī</i>	
<i>ū</i>		<i>ū</i>	

Consonants

<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tš</i>
<i>w</i>		<i>z</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>
<i>φ</i>		<i>x</i>	
	<i>l</i>		<i>h</i>

3.2. The reduced sound *ə*~*v*—as in the German dialects—should not be considered a phoneme; it is produced by the neutralization of /a/ and /o/—or even of other vowels, too—in unstressed position. Accordingly it does not occur in stressed position.³⁹

3.3. The other cases of neutralization need not be mentioned, because they do not deviate from the rules defined for the other Yiddish dialects.⁴⁰ Nevertheless we must point to the fact that the cases of neutralization

³⁹ H.-J. Schädlich, in his remarkable paper "Zur Phonologie der ostvogtländischen Mundart von Neudorf" (*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* X [1961], pp. 213ff.) considers the reduced sound an independent phoneme which is opposed to a so-called zero-phoneme, cf. *dswinl* 'twin'—*dswinlə* 'twins'. This is not even here a phoneme, but only a variant resulting from neutralization. It is, in fact, the equivalent of *all* vowels in final position, which can be reduced in German dialects. We are here rejecting Trubetzkoy's thesis, too (cf. his "Zur allgemeinen Theorie der phonologischen Vokalsysteme," *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* [1931], p. 55).

⁴⁰ Cf. U. Vaynraykh, [Phonemic Structure . . .] (see f.n. 1), pp. 221ff.

considered as "assimilation" phenomena by the conventional linguistic schools are missing in our dialect as a consequence of the endeavor towards a "more correct" pronunciation, cf. *lēbñ* 'to live' instead of *lēbñ* (which is also still in existence). These cases are everywhere noted in the transcription.

4. DIALECT-GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

4.1. The phonemics of Budapest Yiddish clearly proves the Western Yiddish character of the basic stratum of this dialect. The following major homoglosses set it off from the adjoining Central Yiddish dialect:

CY /i, ī~ī/ correspond to Budapest /ū~ū/:⁴¹ *krīm* || *krümp* 'crooked', *fūn* || *fün* 'from', *štrīmp* || *štrümp* 'stockings'; *kī* || *k'ū* 'cow', *hūt* || *hūt* 'hat', *blūm* || *blüm* 'flower', *gīt* || *gūt* 'good'.

CY /ai/ corresponds to: (1) Budapest /ā/, e.g. *tswai* || *tswā* 'two', *lām* || *lām* 'clay', *brait* || *brāt* 'wide', *flaīs* || *flāš* 'meat'; (2) Budapest /ē~ē/, e.g. *mailax* || *mēlx* 'king', *šnai* || *šnē* 'snow', *laip* || *lēf*, *lēw* 'lion'.

CY /oi/ corresponds to Budapest /ā/ as well: *lqifn* || *lāfñ* 'to run', *kolfn* || *k'āfn* 'to buy', *bojm* || *bām* 'tree', *qik* || *āg* 'eye'; but also to /āu~āj/ in the Budapest dialect: *štrōj* || *štrāj* 'straw', *pōiln* || *p'āuln* 'Poland', *šlojma* || *šlājma* 'Solomon', etc.

CY /u~ū~ūə/ appears in Budapest as /ō~ō/; *tūl*, *tūəl* || *t'ōl* 'valley', *rūf*, *rūf* || *rōf* 'rabbi', *zugp* || *zōgp* 'to say', *tuk* || *tōg* 'day', *duwət* || *dōwəd* 'David'.

CY /ā/ corresponds to Budapest /ē~ē/; *tās* || *t'ēs* 'Tisza', *bātš* || *pēitš* 'whip', *frānd* || *frēind* 'relative'.

CY /ou/ corresponds to /au/ in Budapest: *ouf* || *auf* 'on', *mous* || *maus* 'mouse', *moul* || *maul* 'mouth', *hous* || *haus* 'house'.

In the consonantism the greatest difference is the existence of the aspirated *p'*, *t'*, *k'* and *φ-Pφ* in the Budapest dialect.

4.2. At the same time a comparison of our dialect with "classical" Western Yiddish draws attention to a great many essential differences.

Western Yiddish /ei/ corresponds to /ē~ē/ in the Budapest dialect: *nei* || *šnē*, *meilax* || *mēlx*, *keis* || *k'ēs* 'cheese', *xeisət* || *xēsəd* 'grace'.

Western Yiddish /ou~au/ or /oū/ appear as /āu/ or /āj/ and the like in Budapest Yiddish: *fougl*~*faugl*~*foügl* || *fāugl* 'bird', *grous*~*graus*~*grōis* || *grājs*~*grōjs* 'large', etc.

⁴¹ The diachronic statement cannot be avoided in the case of the etymological *u*-sounds; that is, on the one hand the functional distribution of the *i*-sounds is minimal in comparison with Ctl. Yiddish; on the other hand, our dialect possesses the phoneme /ū/ which is unknown in Ctl. Yiddish.

Compared with the Yiddish of neighboring Pressburg,⁴² it is obvious that the diphthongal variations of the /o/, /e/ and /i/ sounds rarely occur in the Budapest dialect (only in the speech of informant I).

4.3. The dialect-geographic characterization would be incomplete without mention of the fact that at the turn of the century the closest environment of Budapest Yiddish was German. The German dialects of the Hungarian capital corresponded to the Austro-Bavarian dialect spoken in Southern Moravia and in Lower Austria, especially near Vienna; these dialects were spoken in their pure form in Buda, and with a certain Swabian coloring in Pest.⁴³ This linguistic environment and the bilingualism of the speakers (especially of informant I) were the causes of a number of innovations not only in vocabulary, but in the phonemics of the language as well. The language of cultural contact of Budapest Jewry—as of the German citizens—was the Viennese variant of the German colloquial language, and the medium of writing was, even in their “Judeo-German” correspondence in Hebrew letters, literary German. This state of affairs did not end until the magyarization of the capital, when the knowledge of Hungarian among Yiddish speakers of Budapest became widespread.

4.4. The great number of phoneme-variants of the Budapest dialect is proof of its transitional character: Budapest Yiddish is one of the transitional dialects connecting the Western and Central Yiddish dialect blocks. Its basis is Western (or even Southwestern) Yiddish colored by Eastern, i.e. Central Yiddish features and influenced by the local Bavarian dialect (“Ostdonaubairisch”), the Viennese vernacular, and literary German. The Yiddish rudiments of the speech of the younger generation show the Hungarian phonemic structure in its nearly complete form.⁴⁴

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. The phonemics of the dialect dealt with in this paper on a synchronic level presents a structure open at each end. According to the tenets of diachronic linguistics, such a state is transitory: it reflects the loss of the original system and the effects of new structures, productive of new,

⁴² Cf. E. Schwartz, “A pozsonyi jiddis hangtana” (‘Phonetics of Pressburg Yiddish’), *Egyetemes philologiat közlöny* LIV (1930), 247ff., LV (1931), 33ff.

⁴³ Cf. C. J. Hutterer, “Zur Sprachgeographie der deutschen Mundarten in Mittelungarn,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* LXXXII (1961 = Festschrift E. Karg-Gasterstädt), pp. 324f.

⁴⁴ Cf. C. J. Hutterer, “Hochsprache . . .” (cf. f.n. 12), p. 57.

mixed systems, as can be witnessed, for example, among diaspora German dialects.⁴⁵

5.2. Consequently, in a transitory period of development, the solidity of the phonemes is relaxed (in the case of our dialect it results in a complete change of language, caused by linguistic assimilation). The system is mixed with other systems and the function of the different phonemes is blurred. This phenomenon can be seen in connection with the Budapest Yiddish phonemes /ä/ and /ei~ai/, the function and distribution of which is confused as a consequence of the relations with the more typically Western and the Central types of Yiddish. The result is a lot of free variation.

5.3. Hence, the synchronic “sound change”—which may be the basis for a diachronic sound change—reflects above all changing the “sound intention.”⁴⁶ This statement leads to a further conclusion, viz., that linguistic research, to take full cognizance of reality, must not neglect those extralinguistic factors which concretely determine the linguistic character of the different communities. In the case of Budapest Yiddish, these factors comprise the Southwestern Yiddish basis; the Central Yiddish stratum; the influences of the local German dialects, the Viennese and literary German vernacular; and, at present, also the effect of the colloquial Hungarian language.

5.4. The clash of these factors, reflecting many inner contradictions, is smoothed out according to the rules of dialectics. The different dialectal or language strata do not exclude each other on any one level of linguistic structure, as Tesnière thought,⁴⁷ but they can be mixed on one and the same level—in our case, on the phonemic one—without preventing the language as a sign system from remaining available to its users.

5.5. Last but not least, another essential feature of language dialectics may be mentioned here. The phonological description of Budapest Yiddish was made strictly on a synchronic level. The results, on the basis of which we localized and interpreted the dialect within the Yiddish language community as a whole, correspond to those of the diachronic

⁴⁵ Cf. V. Schirmunski, “Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten,” *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* XVIII (1930), 113ff.; W. Kuhn, *Deutsche Sprachinselkunde*, Plauen, 1934, pp. 254ff.; also C. J. Hutterer, *A Dunántúli . . .* (cf. f.n. 8), pp. 220ff.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Sommerfelt, *Journal de psychologie* XXV, p. 683, cited by Gy. Laziczius, *op. cit.* (see f.n. 16), p. 84.

⁴⁷ See L. Tesnière, “Phonologie et mélange de langues,” *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* VIII (1939), p. 85: “Par contre le mélange est impossible entre systèmes similaires de deux langues différentes: deux morphologies ne se mélangent pas; elles ne peuvent que s’exclure.”

investigations carried out in the past. As a matter of fact, the *lege artis* type of investigation is sure to lead to such a result, because what is being described is but different sides of one and the same phenomenon, which necessarily reflect the same objective reality.⁴⁸ It seems to be a timely matter to unite the two approaches—the synchronic and the diachronic—which had been detached up to now.⁴⁹ Naturally it does not mean the confusion or mixing up of the investigative methods, but the dialectical resolution of the contradictions (which are never antagonistic) on a common platform.

SUPPLEMENT

[a drōše]⁵⁰

1. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes hot a jidiše waib tsü tün: zol k'āgene hör trōgn, zol xale nemen ün am šabes lixt ötsindn, wen ir werd ägene hör trōgn, wen ir werd am šabes ka lixt ötsindn, wen ir werd ka xale nemen, dan werd aix di erd nixt tsünemen ün waser werd aix herauswerfn ün dos faier werd aix niks ferbrenen.

2. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, xwil ertsēln a fal. iz gewēzn a dorf. in

[a drōše]

1.

[jidiše wai-ber, ji-di-še kin-der, ix zōg aix:]
 [drai mits-wes hot a ji-di-še waib tsü tün:] [zol k'ā-ge-ne hör trōgn,

⁴⁸ The question was summarized by Eugenio Coseriu, *Sincronía, diacronía e historia*, Montevideo, 1958, esp. pp. 135ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. U. Weinreich's review of C. F. Hockett's *A Course in Modern Linguistics* (1958) in *Romance Philology* XIII (1960), 330f.; see also J. Fourquet, "Phonologie und Dialektologie," *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* XXVI (1958), 161ff.; A. Martinet, *Economie des changements phonétiques*, Berne, 1955, *passim*; R. Grosse, "Strukturalismus und Dialektographie," *Bulletyn fonograficzny* III (1960), 89ff.

⁵⁰ The text was recited by A. Román-Eckstein (informant II) in February, 1961; the musical transcription was made by Dr. Clara Magdics, Institute of Linguistics, Budapest.

zol xale ne-men] [ün am ša-bes lixt ö-tsín-dn.]
 [wen Tr werd ä-ge-ne hör trōgn,] [wen Tr werd am ša-bes ka lixt ö-tsín-dn,]
 [wen Tr werd ka xale ne-men, dan werd aix di erd nixt tsü-ne-men
 ün wa-ser werd aix he-raus-wer-fn ün dos fai-er werdaix niks fer-bre-nen.]
 [jidi-še wai-ber, ji-di-še kin-der, xwil er-tsē-in a fal.
 iz ge-wē-zn a dorf. in dī-zn dorf iz ge-wē-zn a ji-de-ne.]
 [ol, ji-di-še wai-ber, ji-di-še kin-der, dī-ze ji-de-ne hot ä-ge-nehōr ge-trōgn.
] [iz ge-kü-men de ma-la-xa-mō-wes] [ün hot zi we-ge-nü-men.
] [hot mon zi be-grō-bn: hot zi di erd he-raus-ge-wor-fn:
 mon hot zi in wa-ser gwor-fn:] [hot zi di wa-ser nixt tsü-ge-nü-men.
] [hot mon zi fér-bre-nen: dos fai-er hot zi niks fer-brent.]

dīzn dorf iz gewēzn a jidene. oi, jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, dize jidene hāgene hōr getrōgn. iz gekümen de malaxamōwes ün hot zi wegenümen hot mon zi begrōbn: hot zi di erd herausgeworfn; mon hot zi in wās geworfn: hot zi di waser nixt tsügenümen; hot mon zi ferbrenen: dos faier hot zi nik s ferbrent.

3. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes hot a jidiše waib tsü tūn: zol k'āgene hōr trōgn, zol am šabes līxt ōtsindn, zol xale nemen

4. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, xwil aix zōgn a fal. iz gewēzn a dorf. dīzn dorf iz gewēzn a jidene. oi, jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, dize jidene hāgen am šabes ka līxt ōgetsündn. iz gekümen de malaxamōwes ün hot zi wegenümen. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, mon wolte zi begrōbn: hot zi di erd herausgeworfn; mon hot zi in waser geworfn: hot zi de waser tsügenümen; mon hot zi ferbrenen: dos faier hot zi nik s ferbrent.

5. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes müs a jidiše waib tūn: zol am šabes līxt ōtsindn, zol xale nemen, zol k'āgene hōr trōgn,

6. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, xwil aix ertsēln a fal. iz gewēzn a dorf. dīzn dorf iz gewēzn a jidene. oi, jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, dize jidene hāgen ka xale genümen. iz gekümen de malaxamōwes ün hot zi wegenümen hote mon zi begrōbn: hote zi di erd herausgeworfn; mon hot zi in wās werfn: hot zi di waser nixt tsügenümen; mon hot zi ferbrenen, dos faier hot zi nik s ferbrent.

7. oi, jidiše kinder, jidiše waiber, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes müs a jidiše waib tūn: zol am šabes līxt ōtsindn, zol k'āgene hōr trōgn, zol xale nemen jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, wen ir werd k'āgene hōr trōgn, wen ir werd am šabes līxt ōtsindn, wen ir werd xale nemen, dan werd aix aux di en tsünemen, de waser werd aix āx tsünemen, dos faier werd aix āx ferbrenen.

EXPLANATIONS: *drōše* 'sermon'; *mitswes* 'good deeds'; *k'āgene* 'none of (one's) own'; *xale* 'offering cake'; *šabes* 'Sabbath'; *malaxamōwes* 'angel of death'.